

HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS in New York City: (1) the Secretariat building; (2) Conference Area building, where the Security Council River, and, in background, (5) Empire State Building, (6) Chrysler Building.

Eight-Year-Old United Nations at Crisis Stage

Supporters and Critics Debate Its Successes and Failures up to This Point

October 24 is United Nations Day, the eighth birthday of this world organization. The UN General Assembly is now holding its yearly meeting in New York City, and the interna-tional organization is very much in the news.

The editorial staffs of THE AMER-ICAN OBSERVER and of its associated publication, the WEEKLY NEWS RE-VIEW, have cooperated in preparing a special issue on the UN. Our regular articles and features will be resumed mext week.

ILLIONS of Americans support M the United Nations strongly, and both Republicans and Democrats are among the supporters. President Eisenhower says he believes in the international organization "with my whole heart," and he wants it to be made stronger. Last year's Democratic Presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson, says that the UN "is still the hope of the world" after meeting "successfully many severe tests."

On the other hand, a great many Americans today doubt the value of the UN. Democratic Senator Pat Mc-Carran has criticized the organization on several occasions. He fears, for one thing, that students may be taught to put allegiance to the UN above loyalty to the United States. The late Senator Robert Taft, Republican of Ohio, felt that operations in Korea showed that the UN cannot deal efficiently with aggressors.

In the remainder of this article, we shall review some of the arguments pro and con relative to the value of this world organization:

ABOUT KOREA. Ever since the Korean War began in 1950, the part played by the UN has been the subject of heated debate.

Those who support the UN's action say: "The UN became the first international organization in history to take forceful action against an aggressor, when the world body called upon free nations to help South Korea defend herself against communist attack. The UN succeeded, by war, in saving the South Korean Republic. The communist aggressors accepted a truce, and fighting ended last summer.

"The now dead League of Nations, which preceded the UN, never had the courage to act against aggression. Japan got away with the conquest of Chinese Manchuria, Italy took Ethiopia, Germany took Austria in the 1930's. The League could not agree on strong action to stop Japan, Italy, and Germany. These aggressor nations then went on to conquer other lands and finally brought about World War II. Had the League stopped the first attack, it might have discouraged other warlike steps and prevented the world conflict.

"The UN has shown that it sees the danger of letting an unlawful attacker succeed. By rescuing South Korea, the UN showed the Reds that aggression does not pay-and thereby lessened the chances of a new world war. The stand in Korea proves the value of the UN as an agent for checking war. As Henry Cabot Lodgeour representative at the UN-has pointed out, repelling the Reds in Korea was a great step toward repelling the danger of aggression against the whole free world."

Those who criticize UN action in Korea say: "It is an exaggeration to call the UN's action forceful. The Security Council condemned the Red attack only at the strong urging of the United States. The UN did not have the power to order any nation to help Korea, but could only appeal for help. In all, only 21 of the 60 UN nations

responded with military or medical aid. The U.S. supplied most of the troops and money; contributions from the other countries were very small.

"The war was conducted under the name of the UN, but we (and South Korean forces) did most of the fighting. Naturally, Russia and her satellites in the UN did not back up the battle for South Korea, for they were supporting the North Korean and Chinese Reds. It is a plain fact, however, that even certain free nations were not inclined to help South Korea. The UN members were not united in

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Value of United Nations Is Debated

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acting with firmness against the communist aggressors.

"As news columnist Dorothy Thompson points out, the UN really has gone the same way as did the old League. The League had no power because its members would not unite to stop aggression. The UN has no power for the same reason. The truce came about only because of powerful U. S. aid to South Korea, not because of action by the UN as a body.

"The truce is uncertain, and a permanent peace is even more so. The aggressor has not been punished, and fighting can break out again. There is no sound reason to believe that the UN has taught the Reds a good lesson."

OTHER UN ACTIONS. Discussion over Korea has been in the forefront of UN news for some time, but there are other big events in which the world body has been deeply involved.

Those praising the UN say: "Pressure by the UN kept Russia from taking a part of Iran's territory in 1946. The UN helped to prevent communist conquest of Greece. It brought an end to warfare between India and Pakistan over the state of Kashmir, which both want to own. Israel was set up as an independent nation, and the war by unfriendly Arabs against the Jewish state was brought to an Indonesia was given her independence from the Netherlands with the help of UN negotiators. All the above developments have been on behalf of world peace, and must be listed as real accomplishments by the UN."

Those criticizing the UN say: "The UN should get credit for the things it has done, certainly. But remember that the UN has made no progress toward solving the all-important problem of disarmament. Nations everywhere today are building their military strength to the utmost. Disarmament proposals have made absolutely no headway in the UN. We have both atomic and hydrogen weapons. Russia has them, too.

"Failure to ban the production and use of such horrible weapons is convincing proof of the UN's lack of power to build a real peace. Moreover, since this organization came into existence, nations have grown farther apart instead of closer together. Up to now, at least, the UN has not served at all effectively as an agency to pro-



THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S large meeting place is now in its second year of use

DEVANEY, INC.

mote more peaceful relations among the various countries and peoples of the world."

WORLD GOVERNMENT? There has been considerable discussion over what the UN really is intended to be. Some seem to be afraid that it will take over some powers of national governments. Others insist that this is not the case, and give reasons why.

Those who worry say: "Our understanding is that we entered the UN to cooperate with other countries in working for peace, and in helping the underprivileged countries to build a higher living standard. But there are some who think that at least a part of the membership hopes to turn the UN into a world government, with power over affairs inside countries—including the United States. Our Constitution would be truly endangered if the UN could interfere with laws passed within our own country.

"Nevada's Senator McCarran expressed belief last year that a branch of the UN was encouraging students to put loyalty to the world organization above that to their own country. True Americans will fight against this movement."

UN supporters say: "It is correct that the UN is an organization for cooperation among members in the cause of peace and in other worthwhile programs. UN agencies may provide information about other nations, so that we may understand them better. That is a first step toward making cooperation easier.

"But there is no question of placing UN interests above our own. As Henry Cabot Lodge—our Ambassador to the UN—has pointed out, the charter of this world organization forbids it to interfere in purely national affairs. Thus, it does not threaten our Constitution. A Supreme Court ruling makes that clear. We could not accept any decision that is forbidden by the Constitution. That means we could not accept any UN decision interfering with our national government."

UN REORGANIZATION? Some Americans think that the UN can never be made to work so long as Russia and her communist satellites are members. Others believe that the UN can be made more valuable if it is reorganized.

UN supporters say, on the question

of communist membership: "The UN is intended to be a world organization. If it is to be that, we must take the good with the bad. We must have the Reds in the UN. If there is to be peace, we must get Soviet Russia to give up ideas of conquering the world. One way to do that is to turn public opinion against her by clearly worded speeches in UN meeting halls. When Russia is told plainly that the free world is against her, the Red dictators may back away from ideas of aggression.

"We must, in these critical times, keep up strong defenses. But we can win a great victory if, by negotiations at the UN, we can get Russia and her satellites to abandon ideas of war. If we can do that, the UN will have started the world on the way to peace. Then we and our allies can cut down on costly defense programs.

"Red China is being kept out of the UN at present, because she made war in Korea and has not yet proved herself to be a stable country. If China shows that she is able to govern peaceably, however, the UN may later consider admitting her to membership. That should be done, if the UN is really to be a world organization."

Those critical of the UN say: "There is little point in trying to influence Russia by speeches in the UN. The Reds have shown time and again that they care nothing for public opinion. The only thing that Russia will pay attention to is power. Only the warning of our warplanes and atomic weapons, our ships and soldiers—and those of our allies—may keep Russia and her Red satellites from aggressive acts. "The Reds should be kicked out,

"The Reds should be kicked out, and the UN made into a society of allied nations of the free world. The allies could then work together to plan how to stop aggression without the propaganda interruptions by longwinded communist speakers.

"Above all, Red China should be kept out of the UN. The Chinese Reds made war against us and cruelly mistreated prisoners they captured in Korea. They cannot be trusted. Senator William Knowland, California Repub-



THE SECURITY COUNCIL holds its sessions in this modern and richly decorated conference hall

lican, has said that the U. S. should get out of the UN if the organization ever tries to admit Red China. Senator Knowland will have a great deal of support from the American public for that idea."

UN supporters say, of reorganization: "The UN could do more for peace if it were better organized than at present.

"Voting methods in the General Assembly should be changed. Each member nation, regardless of size, now has one vote. By pooling votes, small nations can block Assembly actions. It would be fairer if the larger nations had more votes, on the basis of population. Then the nations that must bear the bigger share of the job of carrying out a decision also will have the bigger say about making the decision.

"At present, the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, or Nationalist China can stop action in the Security Council just by saying no—by exercising the veto power given to them in the UN Charter. Time and again, Russia has said no, even on unimportant matters, and thus held up work of the Council.

"Some way should be found to change the veto power. Nations holding it don't want to give it up entirely. We, for example, would insist upon the right to veto a decision that could take us into war. But it may be possible to get an agreement not to use the veto on most other matters."

UN critics say: "Reorganization may help, but not very much. By changing the voting system in the General Assembly to benefit the bigger nations, including ourselves, we would hurt the pride of the smaller countries. We probably would lose the support that we now have from many of them.

"Anyway, the question of reorganizing the General Assembly is not important. The heart of the matter is the Russian veto power. Russia wasn't present when the Security Council branded the Reds in Korea as aggressors. Had Russia been present, she would have vetoed the plan, and there would have been no UN help for Korea.

"Russia won't get caught again. So long as she can, she will block every step the free world proposes for building peace. The only way to make the UN workable is take the veto away from Russia, and that doesn't seem possible at present."

These are among the arguments for and against the United Nations under its present setup. The debate is certain to continue for a long time to come. According to recent polls, however, the UN, despite its defects, still has the support of a large majority of Americans.



THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, often called the World Court, has headquarters at The Hague,
Netherlands. This judicial body will take only those cases that are voluntarily submitted to it.

Leading Agencies of World Body

THE United Nations carries out its major activities through these various branches and agencies:

General Assembly. This "world meeting place" contains delegates from all 60 members of the UN. Each country has one vote, though it may send as many as five representatives. A two-thirds majority of all votes cast is required for passage of resolutions on important questions. The Assembly can discuss, debate, and make recommendations on practically any international problem or issue. Moreover, it can send investigating committees to specific trouble spots.

The Assembly cannot force any country to accept its decisions or follow its recommendations. It does, though, help to focus world attention on critical issues. The General Assembly is growing more and more important within the UN structure, whereas the Security Council—which was originally intended to be the leading agency—has bogged down.

Regular sessions of the General Assembly are held once a year, and special meetings can be called if necessary. Urgent matters that arise between sessions are handled by an Interim Committee—better known as the Little Assembly. All UN members are entitled to have representatives on this committee.

Now being carried on at the UN's New York headquarters is the eighth regular Assembly session, which began September 15. The most prominent issue for debate at this meeting involves Korea.

The Korean truce agreement, drawn up last summer, provided that a for-

mal peace conference was to open by the end of October. The Assembly then held a special meeting to discuss the question of who would attend this conference. There was bitter controversy.

Some of our allies wanted to include India and certain other nations that had not taken part in the Korean fighting. U. S. officials, however, thought India might be too sympathetic toward the communists. Our government wanted the UN side represented only by delegates from countries that had actually fought against the Chinese and North Korean aggressors, and America's wishes on this point finally prevailed.

The communists, meanwhile, were invited to send peace conference delegates from Red China, North Korea, and—if they so desired—Russia.

Early this month, communist nations were objecting to the kind of conference that the UN had proposed. They urged that the whole question be reopened in the present Assembly session, with a view toward bringing India and some other neutrals into the peace conference. It was generally felt that they wanted to revive the issue in order to stir up more bad feeling between the United States and her allies.

Another question before the Assembly pertains to the quarrel between France and two of her North African lands—Tunisia and Morocco. These dissatisfied territories want an increased degree of freedom from the French, and their case was brought to the UN some time ago.

Many other questions are to come

before the Assembly this year, but those we have just mentioned are among the most difficult and important.

Security Council. World leaders once expected this group to be the most powerful UN agency. It consists of delegates from 11 member nations. Five of the countries — Britain, France, Russia, the United States, and China (Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa government)—hold permanent seats on the Council. These are called the "Big Five." The remaining six are elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. At present the six non-permanent posts are held by Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Greece, Lebanon, and Pakistan.

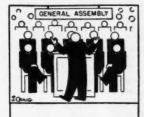
The Council is supposed to investigate any situation which endangers world peace, to recommend settlements, and to call on UN members for action against nations that ignore its decisions. However, the agency has seldom been able to carry out these duties successfully.

Passage of any measure in the Security Council requires approval by seven members. Any important measure, moreover, can be blocked by the negative vote of a single permanent member—one of the Big Five—even if seven other countries favor passage. This "veto" provision has, in most cases, paralyzed the Council.

Undoubtedly the Council's most important action was in connection with the Korean war. In the summer of 1950, when that conflict began, the agency was able to move quickly. It condemned North Korea's attack on

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AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS - THEIR DUTIES AND GOALS



Each country may have 5 delegates, but only 1 vote.

Debates world issues and makes recommendations.



Has 5 permanent members
— U.S., Britain, Russia,
France, China, plus 6 members elected by Assembly
for 2-year terms.

Investigates threats to peace, and can call on UN members to take forceful action against cogressors.



Has 18 members elected by Assembly for 3-year terms.

Works through numerous agencies in effort to improve world living conditions.



Representatives from Big five nations, plus member countries that govern lands under UN control, plus other members elected by Assembly for 3-year terms.

Directs areas under UN supervision.



Has 15 judges, all from different countries, elected by Security Council and Assembly for 9-year terms.

Can decide only cases valuntarily submitted to it by nations involved in disputes.



Secretary-General appointed by Assembly, with large staff.

Does office work and makes reports for UN.

DRAWN FOR THE AMERICAN OBSERVER BY CRA

The UN Acts Through These Agencies

(Concluded from page 3)

her southern neighbor, urged UN members to act against the aggressors, and authorized the United States to furnish a commander for all UN troops in Korea. Russia opposed these steps, but her representative was boycotting the Council and was thus unable to veto them.

During 1953 there has been very little Security Council action. The agency continues, however, to keep an eye on the India-Pakistan dispute over possession of mountainous Kashmir. This Kashmir controversy has been dragging along since 1947, and has been before the Security Council since 1948.

Some observers credit the UN with preventing the quarrel from growing into an all-out war between India and Pakistan. In fact, there was some actual fighting in Kashmir several years ago, and a commission working for the Security Council managed to get it stopped.

Economic and Social Council. Instead of trying to settle international disputes after they start, this group seeks to create world living conditions that will make people less inclined to be in a discontented, fighting mood. It wages war against hunger, unemployment, bad housing, and other undesirable conditions. Eighteen countries are represented on this body, each chosen for a three-year term by the General Assembly.

Specific welfare jobs are being done by a large number of UN commissions and agencies. The Economic and Social Council links them to the rest of the UN organization. A few of the many agencies which the Council thus draws together are described below:

Food and Agriculture Organization. Its job is to fight hunger. It helps boost farm output in countries that are short of food, and it seeks ways by which such countries can obtain food from nations with surpluses.

Here is an example of FAO's work: Since 1951 this organization has been promoting a nation-wide fishery project in Thailand. Working in cooperation with the national government, it has encouraged the people of that country to stock thousands of ponds and large areas of swamp with a fast-breeding kind of fish known as tilapia. This program, in which U. S. foreign aid officials have given considerable help, has already made an important addition to Thailand's food supply.

World Health Organization. This agency, frequently called WHO for short, has chalked up some major victories against typhus, cholera, malaria, and other diseases. There is a region of India known as the Terai, where—in 1950—77 per cent of the children had malaria. India's government, aided by WHO and the UN International Children's Fund (see below), launched a drive which within one year reduced malaria among these children to 3 per cent.

Doctors and nurses, employed by the UN, train native health workers in many countries where very little scientific medical care has been available in the past.

UN International Children's Fund was until recently called the UN International Children's Emergency Fund. It proved so valuable that the General Assembly this month voted unanimously to make it a permanent body and to remove the word "Emer-



TEACHING ASIA'S FARMERS how to grow more rice, their chief food, is one task of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The farmer here is at work in his rice field in Thailand.

gency" from its name. For convenience, however, the organization continues officially to use its old initials—UNICEF.

Since 1947 this agency has directly aided about 70 million children—in various parts of the world—by furnishing food, medical care, and other necessities. It is now helping about 2 million youngsters in Korea alone.

UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Usually known as UNESCO, this agency encourages the people of every country to learn more about the rest of the world. Also, it promotes general education in lands where progress along this line has been slow.

One of its long-range projects is to help set up numerous teachers' training centers in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They will be established through cooperation with other UN agencies and with the countries concerned. One of these training centers is already at work in Mexico, and last December it graduated 50 students from nine Latin American nations.

Within our own country, where UNESCO's efforts are directed largely at developing interest in the United Nations and in foreign peoples, the organization has become an object of considerable dispute. Americans who support UNESCO say it is doing a worthwhile job of furthering interna-

tional friendship. Opponents declare that this agency, in its efforts to promote "world-mindedness," threatens to weaken our citizens' love and patriotism for their own nation.

Trusteeship Council. It supervises the governing of certain colonial regions. These areas, known as trust territories, were once the colonial possessions of the nations defeated in World Wars I and II, and are now controlled by various countries. UN member nations that hold trust territories are Australia, Belgium, Britain, France, New Zealand, and the United States. Italy manages an African trust territory, Italian Somaliland, though she is not a UN member.

The Trusteeship Council consists of representatives from all the UN countries that hold trust territories, from all members of the Big Five, and from several other nations named for three-year terms by the General Assembly.

World Court. This UN branch, officially known as the International Court of Justice, consists of 15 judges chosen by the General Assembly and the Security Council. If nations have disagreements over the meaning of treaty provisions or other points of international law, they can go to the World Court for a decision. Countries are not compelled to submit their disputes to this body, but if they do so

voluntarily they must agree to abide by the Court's judgment. The World Court has not under-

The World Court has not undertaken to settle any of our major international quarrels, though Britain did try unsuccessfully to bring before that body her oil dispute with Iran.

Last year the Court handed down a decision in a complicated case between France and the United States. It answered a number of questions concerning the rights of Americans in French Morocco.

French Morocco.

Secretariat. This group makes up the UN office force, performing a highly essential part of the organization's work. Its messengers, clerks, secretaries, interpreters, economists, and other workers look after the countless details involved in the operation of the United Nations.

The Secretariat's 4,600 employees come from all parts of the world. This branch is headed by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, of Sweden, who took office last April.

Disarmament Commission. This agency was created about two years ago. It replaced an older disarmament group and also the UN Atomic Energy Commission, and it was supposed to make a renewed effort at finding ways to limit national armaments and establish world control over atomic energy. The group consists of delegates from all 11 Security Council members plus Canada.

It has accomplished practically nothing. The bitter struggle between Moscow and the anti-Soviet nations has stalled action on disarmament and atomic energy control. From October 1952 until August 1953, the Commission didn't even hold any meetings.

Some people express hope that the great new threat presented by the hydrogen bomb will now spur the UN into successful action on control of A- and H-bombs as well as other weapons. Proposals may yet be made, during the current Assembly meeting, which would give the Disarmament Commission something new and constructive to work on.

Military Staff Committee. It is now completely inactive. The Military Staff Committee—composed of high-ranking U. S., British, French, Russian, and Nationalist Chinese officers—was supposed to help the Security Council establish a UN army that would seek to enforce world peace. Since the UN's birth, though, the main threat to peace has been the tremendous struggle between us and the Soviets. Naturally, at a time when we and our allies are principally concerned with building a defense against Russia, we are not willing to do any military planning with her.

The Military Staff Committee has had no connection with the combined UN force that fought in the Korean war. That force has been under the command of American generals, furnished by our government in compliance with an early request from the UN Security Council.

They tell me that if a rattlesnake is cornered it will become so angry that it will bite itself. That is exactly what the harboring of hate and resentment against others is—a biting of oneself. We think that we are harming others in holding these spites and hates, but the deeper harm is to ourselves. —E. STANLEY JONES.



UN BUILDS HEALTH. The World Health Organization (WHO) works to prevent disease. This Pakistan baby is being vaccinated by a UN doctor.

History of the UN

N August 1941, the Axis powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan—were riding high. Hitler's armies were smashing eastward into Russia. In North Africa, the British were being forced back into Egypt. Japanese troops were occupying Indochina, and Japan was putting diplomatic pressure on Thailand. The U. S. was not yet in the war, though we were sending aid to our friends overseas.

At this dark moment, U. S. President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met secretly off the bleak coast of Newfoundland. There, in a shipboard meeting, they drew up a statement known as the Atlantic Charter. This document has an important place in the history of the United Nations.

The charter spoke largely of the freedom and justice for which World War II was being fought. It then referred to a permanent system of cooperation by free countries after the war to halt new aggression. The hope that the Atlantic Charter held out created a profound impression on the



ROOSEVELT (left) and Churchill in 1941 discussed plans for an organi-

nations that were fighting the facist aggressors, and also on the occupied countries.

zation such as the UN

A second step toward a world organization occurred on New Year's Day, 1942, soon after the United States entered the war. President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and representatives of Soviet Russia and China signed a short document known as the United Nations Declaration. Representatives of 22 other nations signed their names to the document the next day.

The United Nations Declaration pledged these nations to cooperate in the war effort. From this agreement

came the name for the new world organization.

As the war went on, there was increasing talk of how an international group could work together, after victory had been won, to insure peace. Everyone agreed that a new world organization would have to avoid the pitfalls that had hampered the League of Nations. The latter body, set up after World War I, had been too weak to do the job. The United States had not belonged to the League, and many of its member nations had failed to support it.

The United States had made plain that it would cooperate with a new international group, but there was uncertainty whether Russia could be induced to join. The doubt was cleared up in October 1943 when Cordell Hull, U. S. Secretary of State, flew to Moscow. At the meeting which followed, the U. S., Russia, Great Britain, and China signed a pact in which they pledged to form a world organization.

Two months later, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill came together at Teheran, capital of Iran. While the principal aim of the meeting was to draw up military plans for victory over Germany, further steps were taken toward postwar cooperation. The three leaders agreed to take action "to banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

The blueprint for the United Nations was actually worked out at Dumbarton Oaks, a private mansion in Washington, D. C. In the late summer and early autumn of 1944, representatives of the U. S., Russia, Britain, and China met and drew up plans for the General Assembly, the Security Council, World Court, Economic and Social Council, and other UN bodies.

Now the picture of the new international group was taking shape. Further preliminary action was taken at the Yalta Conference held in February 1945. In the famous Russian resort city on the Black Sea, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin arranged for the San Francisco Conference to take place a few weeks later.

On April 25, 1945, delegates of 50 nations gathered at San Francisco to set up the organization intended to preserve peace and build a better world. After two months of intensive work, they finished the UN Charter. After a majority of the participating nations had given final approval, the United Nations came officially into existence on October 24, 1945. The General Assembly and the Security Council held their first meetings in London in January 1946.











Pandit

Lodge

Hammarskjold

"" Jeb

Six Leaders in World Body

Madame Vijaya Pandit of India is President of the UN General Assembly. The sister of Prime Minister Nehru of India, she has long taken a live interest in world affairs.

Madame Pandit played a prominent part in the movement to free India from Britain. After India received its freedom, she served for two years as her country's ambassador to Moscow. From 1949 through 1951, she was India's ambassador to the United States. She has thus had an unusual opportunity to study both the western and communist viewpoints in the world struggle.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., whose official title is U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations, is a 51-year-old former Republican senator from Massachusetts. He has represented our nation effectively in debates before UN groups.

Mr. Lodge comes from a family long distinguished in government. He went to Harvard, worked as a newspaperman, and was in the U. S. Senate from 1937 to 1953 except for service in the Army during World War II. He is our chief full-time delegate in the world organization.

Dag Hammarskjold, a 48-year-old native of Sweden, is Secretary-General of the United Nations. As such, he supervises the large UN staff, helps arrange for meetings of various UN groups, and tries to keep the world organization working as a team despite conflicts that may arise among the nations.

An expert on financial matters, Hammarskjold has held various responsible positions in the Swedish government. He is the son of a former Swedish prime minister. He was appointed to his present position last spring to succeed Trygve Lie of Norway.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb is Britain's chief delegate to the United Nations. A career diplomat in England's foreign service, Jebb has a broad knowledge of world affairs. He began his diplomatic work shortly after graduating from Oxford University in 1924. He played a big part in formulating plans

for rebuilding war-torn Britain following World War II.

The 53-year-old British leader has been his country's chief UN delegate for 3½ years. He helped set up the United Nations in 1945.

Andrei Vishinsky, Soviet Foreign Minister, is Russia's main spokesman at the United Nations General Assembly. Known for his bitter attacks on the western countries, the gray-haired Vishinsky has been a familiar figure at the UN meetings ever since they started.





Vishinsky

Byrnes

The 69-year-old native of Odessa has been the Soviet Union's Foreign Minister for some four years, and was Deputy Foreign Minister for nine years before that. A lawyer, he shot into prominence in the 1930's when he prosecuted a number of his fellow leaders accused of treason.

James Byrnes, Governor of South Carolina, is one of the U. S. delegates to the UN General Assembly this year. A life-long Democrat, he has held a wide variety of government positions.

For 15 years Mr. Byrnes served in the U. S. House of Representatives, and for 11 years he was a U. S. Senator from South Carolina. After a short period as a Supreme Court Justice, he became the war-time Director of Economic Stabilization and of War Mobilization. Right after World War II, he was Secretary of State for 1½ years.

Habit is a cable; we weave a thread of it each day, and it becomes so strong we cannot break it.

-HORACE MANN

THE 60 MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

				A (m			4				
Country	Area in Square Miles	Population	Country S	Area in quare Miles	Population	Country	Atea in Square Miles	Population	Country	Area in Square Miles	Population
Afghanistan	270,000	12,000,000	Denmark	16,575	4,300,000	Iraq	116,600	5,100,000	Poland	119,703	25,000,000
Argenting	1,073,000	17,600,000	Dominican Republic .	19,000	2,200,000	Israel	7,800	1,500,000	Saudi Arabia	800,000	6,000,000
	2,974,581	8,400,000	Ecuador	116,000	3,200,000	Lebanon	3,475	1,300,000	Sweden	173,341	7,000,000
Belgium	22 800	8,700,000	Egypt	383,000	20,700,000	Liberia	43,000	1,600,000	Syria	72,500	3,300,000
Bolivia	****	3,100,000	El Salvador	13,000	1,900,000	Luxembourg	999	299,000	Thailand	198,247	18,900,000
Brazil	0.000.000	53,400,000	Ethiopia	350,000	15,000,000	Mexico	758,000	26,300,000	Turkey	296,185	21,000,000
Burma	001 740	18,700,000	France	213,010	42,200,000	Netherlands	12,504	10,300,000	Ukrainian S.S.R.*	227,000	40,800,000
Byelorussian S.		9,300,000	Greece	51,182	7,600,000	New Zealand	104,242	1,900,000	Union of So. Africa	472,500	12,700,000
Canada		14,000,000	Guatemala	42,000	2,900,000	Nicaragua	57,000	1,100,000	U. S. S. R	8,690,000	207,000,000
Chile	000 000	5,900,000	Haiti	10,000	3,100,000	Norway	125,193	3,300,000	United Kingdom	94,504	50,600,000
China	0.000.000	463,500,000	Honduras	44,400	1,500,000	Pakistan	337,524	75,900,000	United States	3,620,000	160,000,000
Colombia		11,300,000	Iceland	39,709	145,000	Panama	31,000	817,000	Uruguay	72,000	2,650,000
Costa Rica		825,000	India	1,209,000	357,000,000	Paraguay	157,000	1,400,000	Venezuela		5.000,000
Cuba	44 000	5,500,000	Indonesia	583,479	76,500,000	Peru	483,000	8,600,000	Yemen	75,000	4,50u,000
Czechoslovakia	49,330	12,300,000	Iran		19,100,000	Philippines	115,600	20,200,000	Yugoslavia	99,044	16,300,000
*Areas and populations of these lands also included in U.S.S.R. data. Most population figures supplied by UN.											

The Story of the Week

Coast Guard Exams

All American boys between the ages of 17 and 22, who have finished high school or will do so this year, can take examinations for entrance into the Coast Guard Academy. This exam, which is the only basis for admittance, will be held February 23 and 24, 1954. Applications must be mailed not later than January 15.

Those who are selected will become cadets at the academy in New London, Connecticut. They will take a four-year course in marine engineering, along with other technical and academic subjects. Upon graduation, a cadet will be eligible for a commission as ensign in the Coast Guard. While in the academy, students receive monthly allowances from Uncle Sam as well as free tuition and board.

Complete information may be obtained from your school principal, or by writing to the Commandant (PTP) U.S. Coast Guard, Washington 25, D.C.



Is Russia capable of knocking us out with atomic and hydrogen attacks? Are the Soviets likely to try such a move soon? What can we do about this threat if it exists?

Within the past two weeks, a number of Republican leaders have spoken out on these questions which are uppermost in the minds of many Americans today. Here, in brief, are their views:

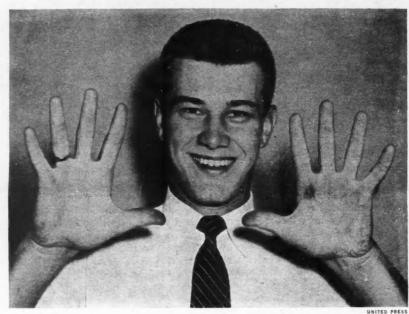
Charles Wilson, Secretary of Defense, believes it is doubtful that the Soviets have a hydrogen bomb now which can be carried to a target by plane. He predicts that it will be about three years before Russia can launch an effective H-bomb attack on us. We should not get panicky about bomb threats, he says, and we should not increase defense spending above present levels at this time.

Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York, chairman of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, is more concerned than Mr. Wilson. Because of new facts brought to light within the past two or three months, he says, the nation should spend \$10 billion more a year to bolster our defenses against the threat of hydrogen and atomic attacks. [Editor's note: Republican Cole, until recently, has been a leading advocate of economy and a balanced budget.]

Civil Defense chief Val Peterson



JAMES MITCHELL joins the Cabinet



HE LOOKS HAPPY, and with reason. Frank Leja, Jr., at 17, has just signed a contract as a rookie first-baseman with the New York Yankees. The Holyoke, Massachusetts, lad holds up his 10 fingers—one for each \$10,000 of his reported \$100,000 contract.

feels that atomic warfare is inevitable, and we will be hit hard when it comes. We must build up our defenses swiftly or we may be lost, in the opinion of this Republican official.

In the attempt to overcome the confusion raised in the minds of Americans by these and other statements of government leaders, President Eisenhower recently had this to say:

The Soviets now have a stockpile of atomic bombs and they are capable of launching an A-bomb attack on us. Russia has also made a start at producing H-bombs. We must do all we can to work out a peaceful solution of world problems in an effort to avert world disaster from atomic and hydrogen warfare.

New Secretary of Labor

The appointment of James Mitchell, President Eisenhower's new Secretary of Labor, will come before the Senate for approval when the law-makers meet next January. At that time, the views of those who oppose Mitchell as Labor Secretary and those who support him will be heard.

Some labor officials, including Walter Reuther (CIO chief) have already indicated approval of the new Labor Secretary. Others criticize the appointment by saying: "Now even the Department of Labor has been turned over to business." (The former Labor Secretary, Martin Durkin, came from labor's ranks whereas Mitchell has represented management in negotiations with unions.)

Mitchell has had long experience in handling labor problems for Uncle Sam as well as for private industry. Before taking over his present post, he was Assistant Secretary of the Army in charge of manpower problems. During World War II, he was the Army's labor trouble-shooter in defense plants. He has also served as industrial relations head for Westinghouse Electric Company and for some big New York City department stores.

Born nearly 52 years ago in Elizabeth, New Jersey, Mitchell quit high school to go to work as a truck driver. Later he took a job at Westinghouse where he climbed up the ladder of success to become a personnel executive.

A husky six-footer, Mitchell is the younger brother of Thomas Mitchell, well-known stage and screen actor. The Labor Secretary has recently moved to his new home near the nation's capital with his wife and 13-year-old daughter.

Jammed Courts

Many federal courts across the nation are hopelessly behind in their work; their dockets are crowded with long lists of legal disputes still to be acted upon. This was brought out recently by Henry Chandler, administrative head of the country's court system. Chandler is in charge of "house-keeping" duties for all of Uncle Sam's courts except the Supreme Court.

Mr. Chandler contends that many additional judges are needed by the nation's numerous federal courts if they are to decide cases on time. He is now calling on congressional leaders to look into this matter when they return to Capitol Hill.

In a number of courts, Chandler points out, citizens must wait 12 months or longer before their cases can be heard by a judge. In a few instances, courts have such a huge backlog of legal disputes to decide that persons must wait 3½ years for a hearing!

Trieste, What Next?

Yugoslavia is angry. She has been angry ever since the United States and Britain decided to hand over a portion of Trieste, now supervised by Allied troops, to Italy. The decision was made about 10 days ago, but Italy will not receive the territory for a while yet.

Trieste has long been a bitter bone of contention between Italy and Yugoslavia (see September 21 issue of this paper). Both sides claim the area that lies between them. Since World

War II, British and American troops have supervised the northern part of Trieste known as Zone A. The Yugoslavs have occupied the southern area called Zone B. Now, Zone A, which includes the important port city of Trieste, is to be turned over to the Italians. The Yugoslavs are expected to remain in control of their zone.

Italy may agree to the terms of the Allied plan, although she insists that most of the people in the whole Trieste area would like to live under the Italian government. Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia is willing to give Italy the port of Trieste, but threatens to use armed force to prevent the Italians from gaining any more of this territory. Can a compromise be worked out—one that will avoid serious trouble?

Waterfront Strife

The big shipping ports along the nation's east coast are keeping an uneasy eye on their waterfront. They hope that new labor trouble can be averted.

Earlier this month, some 50,000 longshoremen quit their jobs. For five days shipping was tied up in ports from Maine to Virginia—an area that handles about 70 per cent of the nation's foreign trade.

The immediate cause of the strike was a wage dispute between dockworkers and their bosses. The long-shoremen, whose average hourly pay is now \$2.27, asked for an increase in wages and welfare benefits amounting to 13 cents an hour. Shippers offered to give their workers an 8½-cent hourly pay boost. Because no agreement could be reached before the old



WORLD'S SMALLEST? A German inventor thinks this is the smallest electric motor ever built. It is compared in size to the coin beside it.

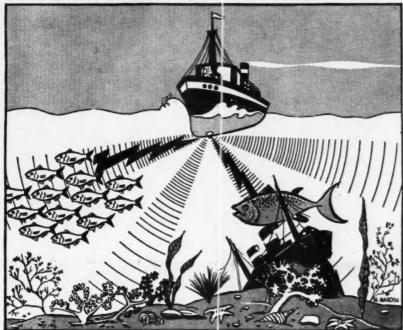
work contract expired on October 1, dockworkers walked off their jobs.

(Under provisions of the Taft-Hartley Labor Law, our courts can issue an injunction or order, telling the strikers to go back to work for 80 days if the work stoppage threatens the nation's welfare. During this "cooling off" period, labor and management are to try for a settlement of their dispute.)

After checking into the waterfront strike, President Eisenhower asked for a court order to get the longshoremen back to their jobs. A temporary injunction was then issued and the workers resumed their duties.

The wage dispute is further com-

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THIS SEA SCANAR permits a ship's pilot to see what lies under the water ahead, on both sides, and beneath him. Sonic waves are sent out by the gadget. They bounce back and appear as "pips" on a screen, somewhat like a radar screen. Scanar, recently tested in New York, may help avoid ship accidents.

plicated by strife among rival labor groups and by charges that corruption exists on the waterfront, particularly in the New York port area. Many dockworkers belong to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), a former member of the American Federation of Labor. However, the AFL expelled ILA from its ranks last month, accusing it of having done nothing to rid itself of crime and corruption. The AFL then set up a new longshoremen's union, and the two labor groups are now in bitter conflict.

Latin American Visitors

Thirty-five teen-agers from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru will soon return home to tell the young people of their homelands about the United The youths, who are between 14 and 16 years old, are to end their "good-will" tour of American communities later this week.

The South American teen-agers. chosen by the presidents of their countries, have been observing Americans at work and at play since early this month. The 35 young men were brought to the U.S. by Pan American-Grace Airways as part of the transportation company's 25th anniversary celebration. It is hoped that the youths will help cement closer ties between their countries and ours.

"Sea Scanar"

With the help of a new invention, called the Sea Scanar, boat crews can get a better idea of what is under water. Dangerous ledges and old wrecks can be spotted and avoided. The device will be especially useful in finding fish.

The equipment sends out bursts of ound. When the sound hits something solid, such as a fish or a rock, an echo bounces back.

The device changes the echo into a ping which can be heard on a loudspeaker or into a spot of light which appears on a screen. By measuring the time between sending the sound and its return, the crew can tell how far the sound has traveled and what it has hit.

As it sends out sounds, the device turns back and forth. This lets the

crew know what is under, ahead of, or beside the boat. Fishermen can spot schools of fish some distance away and still have time to get their nets ready

Eyes on British Guiana

There is trouble in Britain's South American colony of Guiana. Communist-led strikes and demonstrations, which have plagued the land for some months now, recently threatened to turn into a full-scale revolt against British rule. In fact, conditions became so serious in the colony that British troops were sent there earlier this month. Additional reinforcements are now on their way to the steaming South American country.

The land's native government, headed by pro-communist Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan and his Americanborn wife, has been ousted. Britain's representative in the colony, Governor Sir Alfred Savage, now acts as chiefof-state with wide governing powers. When Britain's Parliament meets tomorrow, a future government for Guiana will be worked out.

Britain's troubles in Guiana began last April, after the People's Progres-

sive Party, headed by Jagan, won a victory at the polls. Earlier this month, the Jagans were accused of trying to set up a communist government, independent of England's control, in the colony. After making these charges, the British took action to overthrow the "communist" government and succeeded in doing so.

British Guiana, which is slightly larger than the mother country, is located on the northeastern corner of South America. Its estimated 500,000 inhabitants are a mixture of peoples from many parts of the globe. These include native South American Indians, Africans, Portuguese, Chinese, and people from India. Jagan's original home was in India.

Most of the colony's people earn a meager livelihood by working on sugar cane and rice plantations. Some have jobs in Guiana's chief seaport and capital city of Georgetown as dockworkers and hand craftsmen. A few people earn a living by working in mines, though most of the land's rich deposits of gold, diamonds, and uranium are still untapped.

Overseas Friends

"Where in the world would you like friend?" asks the International Friendship League. Endorsed by our State Department and by officials of more than 70 other lands, the League helps students of different nations to get acquainted through letter-writing.

The League reports that it is receiving long lists of youths from other countries, 9 through 20 years of age, who would like to correspond with young Americans. Any boy or girl may join the League for 50 cents. This payment entitles a student to one, two, or three names and addresses from abroad.

If you wish to apply for membership, write to the International Friendship League, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts. In your application letter, indicate clearly your full name and address, school and grade, age, and any special interests you have.

Next Week's Articles

Unless unforeseen developments arise, the two major articles next week will deal with (1) Poland, and (2) "What is wrong with our state governments?"

Study Guide

United Nations

- 1. According to UN supporters, how did the world organization prove its worth in connection with the Korean conflict?
- 2. What do critics say about the UN's performance in Korea?
- 3. List some other major world prob-lems that the organization has attempted to handle. In which of these has it been at least partly successful, and in which has it failed?
- 4. What arguments are set forth by people who fear that the UN may take over some powers that belong to national governments? How do UN supporters reply?
- 5. Tell of some suggestions that have been made concerning changes in the United Nations.
- Briefly describe the General Assembly and its job. Name at least one major issue under discussion at its current session.
- 7. Name the five permanent members of the Security Council. What privilege, belonging to them, has greatly weakened the Council?
- 8. List at least three special agencies that work under the Economic and Social Council. Tell something of what they
- 9. What is the job of the UN Trustee-ship Council? Of the World Court?
- 10. Briefly describe the Secretariat and s work. Who heads it?
- 11. Trace the origin of the United Na-ons. When did it officially come into tions. When existence?
- 12. Who is now President of the General Assembly?
- Identify: Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.;
 Sir Gladwyn Jebb; Andrei Vishinsky;
 James Byrnes.
- 4. How many member nations does UN have?

Discussion

- 1. In your opinion, has the Korean war proved that the UN is worth while, or has it shown that organization to be inadequate? Explain your position.
- 2. Do you or do not think there is danger that the UN may meddle in our purely national affairs? Give reasons for your answer.
- What changes, if any, do you think should be made in the structure and or-ganization of the United Nations? Ex-plain fully.

Miscellaneous

- 1. What is the "Sea Scanar"?
- 2. Who did the Pan American-Grace Airways bring to this country to help celebrate its 25th anniversary?
- 3. Describe one of the major problems our federal courts today.
- 4. How did President Eisenhower halt, for the time being at least, the east coast waterfront strike?
- 5. Who is the new U. S. Secretary of Labor?
- 6. Over what issue has Yugoslavia be come angry with the United States and Britain?
- 7. What does President Eisenhower say about Russia's ability to attack us with atomic and hydrogen bombs?

Pronunciations

Andrei Vishinsky-an-dra' vi-shin'-ski Chiang Kai-shek-jyang ki-shek

Dag Hammarskjold-dag ham'mer-shult'

Teraj-tě-rí

Trieste-tree-čst'

(Mr. Hammarskjold says he's willing o have Americans pronounce his name hammershield.")

THE LIGHTER SIDE

Chemistry teacher: "This gas contains adly poison. What steps would you deadly poison. What steps take if it escaped?" Student: "Long ones, sir."

Young man (seated in bus): "Excuse me, madam, but you're standing on my feet."

feet."
Old lady (standing in aisle): "If you were a gentleman, you'd be standing on them yourself."

Sweet young thing: "I can't understand why my watch won't run."
Friend: "Maybe it needs cleaning."
Reply: "Oh, no, it couldn't. I had it in the bathtub with me this morning."

Teacher: "Iceland is about as big as Siam."
"Iceland," wrote little Benny in his notebook, "is about as big as the teacher."

Mother (hearing crash from kitchen): "More dishes, Mary?"
Mary: "No, mother, fewer!"

Tommy: "Say, Bill, how did you get Tommy: "Say, Bill, how did you get that swelling on your nose?"
Bill: "Oh, I bent down to smell a brose in my garden."
Tommy: "Not 'brose,' Bill—'rose'.
There's no 'b' in 'rose'."
Bill: "There was in this rose."



"Oh, you must be joking! Surely you have change for a quarter!

SPORTS

STYLES change in football as in almost everything else. Today deception and speed are the vogue in offensive play. Fifty years ago the emphasis was on brute force, as exemplified in the flying wedge.

In this maneuver, nine players moved back about 20 yards from the ball, leaving the center at the line of scrimmage with the ball carrier behind him. At a signal, the nine ran forward in two lines, converging on the ball. At the moment the leaders reached the ball, the center tossed it back to the ball carrier who then followed the flying wedge formed by the rest of the team.

So devastating was this technique that it was outlawed. It caused many injuries, and upset the balance of the game in favor of the offensive team.

Introduction of the forward pass was the next big change in football. For several years after it became legal, though, most teams ignored it entirely. It took a dramatic game in New York to make the forward pass popular.

In 1913 Army was looking for an early-season tune-up game and offered Notre Dame-at that time a small, little-known school-a chance to play. Notre Dame's players knew they were no match for the big Army eleven on the basis of weight and power alone. So they decided to practice the forward pass.

Army shot into a 13-0 lead. Then Notre Dame started passing. Army players were bewildered and could not cope with the maneuver. Notre Dame went on to win 35-13 with a little end, Knute Rockne, grabbing pass after pass.

The game showed what the forward pass would do, and it started Notre Dame on its way as a great football power. It also drew attention to Knute Rockne who was to become one of the most famous football coaches of all time before his death in an airplane crash in 1931.

The most talked-about development of recent years has been the two-



GOODBYE TO BASEBALL. spotlight is now on football.

platoon system whereby a team uses one group of players on offense and another on defense. This year that system has been eliminated in college football, and players are expected to play "both ways"-on offense and defense-once more.

How the latest change is working out is the subject of controversy. Some say it is making the game less enjoyable to watch, and is permitting fewer players to participate. Others contend the change is eliminating confusion for the onlooker, and is making the game more fun for the players. It will probably take a full season of play to see who is right.



PLUMBERS, who are efficient and work hard, usually earn good wages

Careers for Tomorrow

In the Field of Plumbing

F you have mechanical ability and can use your hands to do hard, yet precise tasks, you may want to become a plumber.

Your duties, if you decide to take up this trade, will include installing and repairing pipes and fixtures that make up the water, sewage, and gas systems we have in our homes and in other buildings. In addition to these construction and repair jobs, plumbers often help to install heating and air-conditioning units.

Your preparation will include onthe-job training under the supervision of skilled workers. You will also spend some time in a classroom to study the principles of physics and chemistry that apply to plumbing, learn to draw and read blueprints, and become acquainted with local rules that govern your work. This entire training program, which usually takes about five years to complete, is worked out by the plumbers' union and firms that hire plumbers.

As an apprentice, you will "earn while you learn." Your starting sal-ary will be small, but periodic increases will make it larger as you go

Journeymen, after they have had several years' experience, can take an advanced test to qualify as master plumbers. Usually, supervisory jobs in the field can be held only by master plumbers.

Job opportunities for plumbers vary, as in all trades concerned with building homes and other structures. in accordance with business conditions. When business is booming, plumbers and others in the construction field have no trouble finding work at high pay. When business is slack, jobs may be hard to find.

There are several ways in which plumbers may be employed. In the smaller communities, they often are self-employed; that is, they contract independently with persons who want installation or repair work done.

Journeymen in the larger communities usually work for master plumbers who have established their own firms. Some journeymen, though, are employed in factories or other large buildings where they do whatever plumbing jobs are necessary. The master plumbers in the cities who have established their own firms plan and

supervise the installation of plumbing systems, and also carry on an extensive repair business.

Your earnings as a journeyman plumber may vary from city to city. In general, they range from \$2.20 to \$3.50 an hour, or \$88 to \$140 for a 40-hour week. In some cases, the top earnings are above \$140. Plumbers who have set up their own businesses may have incomes that are quite high if they have sales ability and good business sense.

Advantages in being a plumber are (1) the relatively good wages; (2) the opportunities for advancement; and (3) the fact that the work requires both mental and physical activity.

Disadvantages include the uncertainty of steady employment. Plumbers are usually among the first group of workers to feel the pinch of a slowdown in industrial activity, although plumbing shops that do a big repair business are in a good position to weather hard times.

Further information on how to become an apprentice plumber can be obtained from a nearby office of your State Employment Service and from local plumbing firms.

From Our Readers

I think the student exchange program is an excellent way for young people of the world to get acquainted with one another. Students, when they study abroad, can learn to live on friendly terms with people of other lands. This is a good foundation on which to build world cooperation and peace.

FRANCES MOELLMAN, Tigard, Oregon

We spend a good deal of our resources and energy helping people all over the globe. Isn't it about time that we also gave some attention to domestic needs? We have disgraceful slums right in our own cities. These slums breed crime and disease. When this problem is solved—but not before—should we try to help people elsewhere.

ANN HOUMIEL,
Chappaqua, New York

Those people who criticize our foreign Those people who criticize our foreign aid program ought to realize, that, if we don't help other countries, the Russians might step in and try to gain control over these lands. How could we then live in a world largely dominated by communism?

RITA GOFREDSON, RITA GODFREDSON, Swea City, Iowa

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Youth Wants to Know

O N November 1, India's Madame Vijaya Pandit (photo on page 5), presiding officer of the United Nations General Assembly, will be interviewed by high school students on NBC's "Youth Wants to Know" television program. Besides her UN work, Madame Pandit has held important posts in her home country, and has been Indian ambassador to the United States and to Russia.

Are there any specific questions that you would like to hear Madame Pandit answer on the telecast? If so, why don't you send us one or more queries as soon as you get this paper? Remember, questions should bear on the issues with which the featured personality deals in public life. Send all questions to TV Column, THE AMERI-CAN OBSERVER, 1733 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Here are some questions of the type which you may want to ask of the Indian leader:

1. Does India look upon the spread of world communism as a threat to the rights of individuals to live and work as free men? Why or why not?

2. Why is it that India, though she checks communism at home, criticizes our programs for halting Red aggression in Korea and advocates Communist China's entry into the UN?

3. What do you believe is the biggest stumbling block in the path to friendlier relations between India and



THEODORE GRANIK, producer of the popular television program "Youth Wants to Know

the United States? What can be done to bring the two countries closer together?

4. What changes, if any, do you think should be made in the UN Charter?

5. How, in your opinion, could India and Pakistan best settle their dispute over Kashmir?

6. From your observations while representing India in Moscow and in Washington, D. C., what impressed you most about life in each of the two nations?

7. How do the people of India feel about women in public life? Do they accept feminine leaders as a matter of course, or is it considered unusual for women to enter politics?

Not in the clamor of the crowded street.

Not in the shouts and plaudits of the throng,

But in ourselves are triumph and defeat.

-Henry Wadsworth Longfellow